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organization is now breaking down and the following description applies to conditions among the Menabe fifty to seventy-five years ago. All the Tanala lived in villages of from fifty to eighty families. These villages were built in defensive positions, usually on hilltops, and were fortified by log palisades 10 to 12 feet high and often by deep ditches as well. There was always a ditch at the gate with a narrow bridge of earth leading to the entrance. The bridge was broken down if the villagers learned of an impending attack. In the center of the village there was an open space, long if the village was long and round if it was round, which was called the *kianza*. Bordering on this there was a large house, called by some gentes the *trano be*, by others the *lapa*. This was usually to the east of the *kianza*, but might be to the north or south, never to the west. It was used as a residence by the village chief or the head of one of the lineages. The *kianza* and *trano be* were employed for assemblies of all sorts.

The village was divided into wards, each the property of a lineage. As a rule, each ward fronted on the *kianza* and extended back to the palisade. The number of wards in a village was variable, ranging from two to ten or more. In general old villages showed the greatest number, due to the formation of new lineages through internal disputes. At least in theory, the land belonging to each lineage lay in the same direction in relation to the village that its ward occupied in relation to the *kianza*. When a village moved, each lineage took up a ward and land in the same relative position at the new site. This arrangement was not correlated with differences in social rank or prestige, nor was one direction considered more desirable than another. The only explanation given by the Menabe was that this was an ancient custom.

There were certain things which belonged to the village as a whole. The *tepanony* was a charm or fetish concocted by an *ombiasy* at the time the village was founded. It was believed to protect the villagers from sickness, lightning, and the attacks of malevolent ghosts, but did not protect against enemies. It was buried inside a small stone enclosure in the *kianza* (see Manufacture and Use of Charms). Although great importance was attached to it, it figured little, if at all, in the religious and ceremonial life of the villagers. The village sacred place, always outside the palisade and sometimes a mile or more away, was used for all the more important rites. Here the stones commemorating the dead were set up and the sacrifices made to the ancestors, without distinction of lineage. Each village also had its tomb or tombs, varying from one to three in number, which

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361 778 were used by all the lineages indiscriminately. The tombs were hidden in dense forest, never less than a half hour's march from the village and usually more (see Tombs).

361 764 Villages were moved on y if they had been taken and sacked by an enemy, or if an *ombiasy* advised removal. In either case the new site was chosen by an *ombiasy*. The villagers carried along their *tepanony* and buried it in the *kianza* of the new village. The sacred place was abandoned, the sacrifices being performed at temporary altars until deaths had occurred at the new site and memorial stones had been erected. Corpses were carried back to the old tombs for a time, then new tombs were built and all the bodies transferred.

361 778 New villages, as distinct from removals, were founded as a result of quarrels between factions within a village. One or more lineages would secede in a body and settle at a new site. The place would be chosen by an *ombiasy*, who would also concoct a new *tepanony* for them. The new village would continue to use the sacred place and tombs of the old village for a time, but would establish its own as soon as possible.

THE GENS

618 The gens was the largest social or governmental unit recognized by the primitive Tanala. All larger groupings are directly traceable to outside influences. There was no native name for this unit, but each gens was named and considered itself a separate entity. The members of a gens always occupied a continuous territory, the limits of their land being marked by various natural boundaries such as rivers, ridges, etc. Trespass on this territory by members of another gens was cause for war. If, as sometimes happened, one or more lineages migrated to a distance, the emigrants soon lost touch with the parent body and founded a new gens.

In theory, membership in a gens was based on descent from a common ancestor in the male line and each gens had arisen through the gradual expansion of a single lineage. Traditionally, these lineages entered the country separately and at different times, some coming from the coast, others from the plateau. Each lineage founded a village, new lineages and villages arising through increasing population and internal disputes. Actually, the Menabe also recognized descent in the female line as giving gens membership, if it was coupled with residence with the mother's group. Although informants always gave male descent as the basis, all admitted that their own gentes included illegitimate children of gens women and outside fathers,

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764 rarely use the same tomb for more than three or four generations. The tombs are always built in prominent places, beside roads, etc. The Imerina sometimes sacrifice at them but the Betsileo do not. Neither group has special persons appointed as tomb guardians.

764 The tribes of the southeast coast, who border the Tanala on the east, employ gens tombs founded, at least in theory, by the original 618 gens ancestor. No new tombs are founded by individuals and as the 778 gens grows and expands its territory the single tomb comes to be used by a number of villages. The gens tomb is always in a secluded place, surrounded by a grove of trees, and, if possible, near the sacred river. Only the tomb guardian or persons he designates can approach it at ordinary times. It is, however, the center of the religious life of the gens. Important sacrifices are made there and trials for sorcery are held at it. There is an hereditary official known as the *Lahy Kibory* ("chief" or "guardian of the *kibory*") who is the religious head of the gens with powers approaching those of the secular chief. He not only has charge of the *kibory* and everything pertaining to it, but offers the sacrifices to the ancestors and punishes infractions of tribal custom, such as incest.

764 The Tanala practices vary between these two extremes without fully arriving at either. In a very general way it may be said that the southern clans lean toward the southeast coast practice while the northern ones lean toward that of the plateau. Among the Tanala Ikongo the *kibory* almost conforms to the southeastern pattern. Sadaro Antoine says: "The *kibory* is situated far from villages so that the ghosts will not disturb the tranquillity of the living. It is in a cave. The bodies are laid one upon another with the exception 766 of the *Mpanzaka* [king] who is placed in a coffin on an elevated place to the east. Persons who die of contagious diseases [lepers and smallpox victims] or children who die under a month old are not admitted to the *kibory*. The latter are buried in marshy ground. Sorcerers are also excluded unless a number of cattle have been killed 764 to rectify the fault. The chief of the *kibory* is a simple chief of the family but he receives a certain respect from the natives. He makes regulations that no one may burn the forest near where the *kibory* is located, or enter the forest or cut a single tree in it. Anyone who breaks these rules has to pay a fine of a large ox. When the tomb has to be repaired or when the ancestors wish a new tomb, it is the chief of the *kibory* who calls the family together to do this. For this work he has to kill many cattle and furnish a quantity of rice for the workers. A sacrifice of twenty or thirty cattle is an average for a

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and the others on top. Care is taken to have the heads of each sort behind those of the more important kind. Thus a child would be laid with its head extending only to its parent's throat. The skull of the most important ancestor is laid on top of all the bodies and is moved up at each new interment so that it will always be on top. 769

The Menabe seem to lack entirely the idea of a *Lahy Kibory* ("guardian of the tomb") and no ceremonies are held at the *kibory* except at funerals or when it is transferred. In general it is taboo to cut wood or gather forest products in its vicinity and the place is shunned by everyone. Enemy gentes have been known to destroy the *kibory* if they held a special animosity, but this is rare.

RELICS OF DEAD CHIEFS

According to Sadaro Antoine the Ikongo have the practice of preserving relics of dead chiefs. A similar practice exists among the Sakalava. My Menabe informants had never heard of anything of the sort and I was unable to verify it for the Ikongo, but Sadaro's account is so circumstantial that I feel sure it exists. He says: "The *kovavy*, which the Marohala also call *lambo hamba*, is a collection of the upper eye teeth of famous kings preserved in memory of their services. The *kovavy* is made up of a series of crocodile teeth in which the canines are preserved. The crocodile teeth are attached side by side on a piece of cotton cloth bordered with silk called *kilambony* or *tsy maroavaratra*. The whole is kept in the *kirakidrakitra*, a small covered basket of fine weave. This basket is usually kept on a small shelf above the eastern door of the house. Guardianship of the *kovavy* is confined to a man of the Antimanga gens or to a king of the noble caste. It is forbidden for the guardian to eat black bananas or *boroboaka* bananas [two species]. It is also forbidden to raise guinea fowl or pigs in the village where the *kovavy* is kept. 769 778

"The festival of *fampandroana kovavy* [bathing the *kovavy*] is celebrated in the month *Volambita* [October] or *Asaramanitra* [December]. The bathing is done in a part of the river where the water seems to be asleep. For the Manambondro gens the bathing place is Ambinanindrano, a place situated just above the confluence of the Manambondro and Sahonjatsy rivers. Before the departure of the procession for the river the men enter the house where the *kovavy* is kept. The women gather to the east of the house and sing. A man of noble caste approaches the place of honor, respectfully takes the basket, places it on his head, and then carefully deposits it 778 788 769

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778 on a *sariy* [finely woven mat] before the eastern door. A person of
788 either sex, but always of noble caste, carries the little basket on his
769 head to the river. The procession marches around the house three times singing. When the procession arrives at the river an ox is killed, *sora mamanta* [black and white] or *mazava loha* [black with white marks on the forehead]. The throat is cut at the edge of the river so that blood falls into the water. The *kovavy* is taken from its basket and a man of the noble caste wears it as a bandoleer while swimming. While he crosses the river the rejoicing increases. The *drahitra* [a variety of drum] is beaten and the women chant in monotone. After a few minutes the swimmer returns to the edge of the river and puts the *kovavy* back in its basket. After a feast all return to the village with rejoicing and the little basket is put back in its place.

"The *famanana kovavy* [feeding the *kovavy*] may be held at any time. For this they kill an ox, always one of the previously mentioned colors. It is killed to the east of the *kovavy's* house by a man of noble caste. After a prayer they take a part of each of the different sorts of meat [i.e., the parts used in sacrifice] which are cooked and eaten by the assistants. They then pull off the hump and salt it with *sira ranto* [sea salt]. When it has been salted it is fastened on top of the crocodile teeth with raffia and left for a minimum of three or a maximum of six days. At the end of this time it is eaten by the guardian. In case of a calamity, such as an epidemic of locusts, etc., the protection of the *kovavy* is asked."

LOST BODIES

766 The loss of a body causes much grief to the relatives and every effort is made to recover it. The main causes of such loss are now death at a distance and drowning. In the first case the body is buried without ceremony and a year or more later, when the flesh has decayed, some of the male relatives dig it up and bring it home. A regular funeral is then held and the bones put in the gens tomb. If the person has been drowned the core of a banana tree is taken and a silver bracelet put upon it. It is then thrown into the water near where the person disappeared and is believed to float along until it comes over the place where the body lies, when it stops and balances. The relatives then dive for the body.

If the body cannot be recovered the Ikongo hold a brief funeral over his sleeping mat and pillow, which are placed in the *kibory* ("gens tomb"), and later erect a stone in his honor. Among the Manandriana division of the Menabe the pillow and mat are not

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or for his immediate family. The Imerina may have been an exception to this rule, but accounts of the early conditions there are vague and conflicting. Elsewhere, priests cannot delegate their functions to *ombiasy* even temporarily. Among the western tribes, where the distinction between the two offices is most rigid, *ombiasy* may not even direct sacrifices.

SACRIFICES ON BEHALF OF THE GENS.—Among the Menabe, sacrifices on behalf of the entire gens were made only in time of national calamity, such as pestilence, very serious crop failure, or an attack which threatened to drive the gens from its territory or subjugate it. They were performed on the tops of sacred mountains, the idea being that the worshippers were thus lifted closer to heaven and their prayers made more easily audible to the gods and ancestors. Each gens had one or more of these mountains within its territory. The Zafiakotry had three, which were the sites of three of their ancient villages, later abandoned. I could not learn whether the sacred mountains of other gentes had ever been inhabited. At present it is not taboo to visit the mountains or even to cultivate their lower slopes, but the summits are shunned as the abode of spirits. These high places are not marked by memorial stones or other permanent altars. A temporary wooden altar (see Sacrifices on Behalf of Individuals) was erected for the ceremony.

When there was more than one sacred mountain, the leading *ombiasy* of the gens, or some foreign *ombiasy* of great power, indicated which one should be used. He also selected the priest who was to officiate from among all those in the gens and indicated the ritual to be used, especially whether the sacrifice was to be boiled or grilled. The ritual was the same as for individual sacrifices. Apparently no sacrifices on behalf of a gens have been performed in recent times.

Sacrifices on behalf of a village or group of villages were performed before setting out on a war party. These have been described in the section on Warfare. They may have been performed on a few other occasions as well, but informants were uncertain. Since the establishment of French control they also have become obsolete.

SACRIFICES ON BEHALF OF INDIVIDUALS.—Sacrifices of this type are the commonest of all Tanala ceremonies. Although they are always made on behalf of some individual, the larger and more important ones are participated in by the entire village and are felt to be a reassertion of the close relation existing between the living and the souls of their ancestors. They may be performed during

782 illness or before beginning the activity in which supernatural aid is hoped for, but are usually made after help has been received, in fulfilment of a vow.

Vows are called *tsikafara*. To make a vow is *manovava* and to fulfil one *manalavava*. A vow may be made by any one at any time or place in case of sudden danger or other emergency, but deliberate vows, especially those for the cure of illness, seem usually to be [755] made by the village priest at the head of the sick person's bed. An ox is given to the priest by the person or his family after his recovery. Most vows are made publicly, the people of the village being called on to witness them. In the vow, the nature of the sacrifice, as a black ox, is specified and often the place where it will be performed, but there seems to be no fixed formula. All vows are rigidly fulfilled, for failure in this would result in the death of the individual and possibly the wiping out of his entire family by the enraged spirits.

Although all Tanala sacrifices conform to a general pattern there seems to be an almost infinite variation in details. Each gens has its own invocation and even different lineages within a gens may have peculiarities of procedure. From accounts of participants it seems that even two sacrifices performed by the same priest for the same purpose are rarely identical at all points. These individual variations are not due to carelessness, or to a poor development of ritual, but reflect a feeling that the circumstances surrounding two sacrifices are never the same. In approaching the gods and ancestors [777] the workings of fate must also be considered. Each day has its special significance, with favorable and unfavorable aspects (see *Vintana*, pp. 212–214) and each individual has a particular destiny. These must be taken into account to obtain results, and it is for this reason that *ombiasy* are consulted as to the best place, day and exact procedure for each sacrifice. The methods used by the *ombiasy* in determining these details are known only to themselves and the priests follow their directions blindly.

782 778 In most of the Menabe gentes the sacrificial procedure is as follows: The place of sacrifice may be indicated in a vow; if not, it is chosen by an *ombiasy*. Most sacrifices are performed at the *ampiseofana*, the village sacred place, where the memorial stones to the ancestors have been erected (see Erection of Memorial Stones). These stones are set up in pairs, a flat slab resting on a tripod of small stones, called the *vato vavy* ("female stone") and a tall upright stone called the *vato lahy* ("male stone"). The *vato lahy* is erected

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immediately to the east of the *vato vavy*, touching its edge. Each stone commemorates a different individual, but in sacrifices to the ancestors as a whole the largest pair will be used.

If the regular sacred place is not used and there are no memorial stones at the place chosen, a temporary altar is built. This must be made entirely of *rotra* wood. Four posts about 3 inches in diameter and 3 feet high are planted in the form of a square with its corners northeast, northwest, southeast and southwest. In the middle of the eastern side of the square a fifth post is planted. This is somewhat thicker than the other four and about 18 inches longer and is forked at the top. The tops of the posts on the northern and southern sides are connected by crosspieces, lashed on with vines. Small, closely spaced sticks are laid across to form a table. The finished altar is 2 to 3 feet square. It is erected without special rites before the ceremony begins.

The altar, whether of wood or stone, is covered with the finest new mat obtainable. Over this is laid a layer of fresh leaves from the Traveler's Palm.

Cattle are the principal offering in all important sacrifices. The most desirable sacrifice is a fat ox. The animal is led to the place of sacrifice, thrown and tied, and laid with its head west, south or east, according to the direction of the *ombiasy*, but never north. Its throat is cut by some member of the family of the person in whose behalf the sacrifice is performed. No invocation is repeated at the killing and there seems to be no idea that the soul of the ox is sent to the ancestors. It is simply the source of the meat later offered to them. The ox may even be killed elsewhere and its meat brought to the place of sacrifice. Rum and rice are also brought to the place of sacrifice, but are of less importance than the ox.

After the ox has been killed, pieces are cut from different parts of it to make the sacrifice. The parts chosen vary somewhat in different groups and ceremonies. Among the Manandriana ten parts are taken, as follows: hump, *trafony*, breast, *lengontratrany*, shoulder just below the hump, *manangina*, rump, *fotopeny*, liver, *atiny*, lungs, *tsikavony*, white intestines, *tsinainipotsiny*, kidneys, *voany*, large stomach, *tabohany*, and small stomach, *vorovorony*. Apparently most of the groups take only five: the hump, rump, liver, white intestines, and one other which is variable. The pieces to be offered are taken from the right side of the animal or organ. The head is cut off and placed on the altar at the base of the upright stone, or in the fork of the highest post. It is laid with the nose

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782 west and its horns are decorated with silver bracelets and chains.
778 The rest of the animal is then cut up and part of the meat is usually put to boil, while the rest is laid aside to be distributed at the close of the ceremony. Rice is cooked at the same time, in preparation for the feast which usually concludes the proceedings.

782 All the Menabe have two methods of offering the sacrifice, called
793 *tsemoka* and *sorona*. Either method may be used, on the advice of the *ombiasy*, but some families normally employ one, some the other. In the Zafindiamanana gens the *tsemoka* ceremony is as follows:

While the sacrificial parts are being cut, a fire is kindled to the west of the altar, without ceremony. The sacrificial parts are laid on the coals or grilled on a long iron fork with three or five tines. As soon as they have been placed on the fire, the person on whose behalf the sacrifice is made and his family take up a position to the west of the fire, facing the altar. They stand and remove their hats. The priest stands in front of them, also facing the altar, with the *hazomanga* in his left hand and the sacred knife in his right. He holds the *hazomanga* pointing eastward and upward and scrapes it three times, counting "One, two, three" in a loud voice. After the third stroke he calls out: "*Zanahary*, give us life." He then begins again and scrapes and counts up to six, calling after the sixth stroke: "*Zanahary*, give us life and health." *Telo* and *enena*, the native words for three and six are, by a pun, supposed to signify life and health respectively.

After scraping the *hazomanga* the priest looks upward and repeats the invocation in a high, shrill voice. That used when sacrificing for a sick person is as follows: "Listen, listen, *Zanahary* male, *Zanahary* female, Rangidana, Rantimoa, the sun, Beeronerona, Rangamina, Andrangofalafa, Madiovazankoho, Tsimangano nahananga, the moon, the sun, and stars. [Note: The sun is invoked twice, once by its ceremonial name, once by the ordinary name.] See, you others who are in the sky! Man is blood which you have made solid and to which you have given life and intelligence. You have advised: 'If there is anything which grieves you or gives you joy, come and let us know.' Well, so-and-so is sick and the *ombiasy* has found by divination that you, *Zanahary*, demand an ox. Observe there the sacrificial parts [names of these repeated]. Eat well in our presence, then cure this sick person to the bottom."

After the invocation everyone remains perfectly quiet for about five minutes, then the priest says: "You, *Zanahary*, do not take long to eat. Mount again by the golden rope and place yourselves

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769 could tell him anything and he concluded that they must be members
782 of *Zanahary lahy's* (*Zanahary* the male's) family.

793 In the Zafindriantrova gens stone tables are employed for sacrifices at the sacred place, but all but the most important offerings are made in the dwelling of the village priest, or in that of the person responsible for the offering. The ox is killed to the east of the house and the meat and rice cooked on the regular fireplace. In the *sorona* rite a mat is laid on the floor in the sacred northeast corner of the house, with a covering of Traveler's Palm leaves. Six piles of rice and meat are made on this in two rows, as on the altar. Southwest of this leaves are laid, but no mat, and a single pile is made for the *ndevo* and strange ghosts.

The sacrificer scrapes the *hazomanga* only three times, with the usual counting and invocation. He then addresses the spirits as follows: "Sambatsinana. Antsinanana firy razana. Mangaiky anao, *Zanahary; Zanahary lahy, Zanahary vary*, Rangidina, Andrianantomoa, Madiovazankoho, Beerongeronga, Vorombetsivazana, Andranofalafa, Avia fahisaofana. Mandroronga amny tady volomena mipetraka aminy farafara vola." "Hail [or salute] to the East. In the East there are many ancestors. You are being called *Zanahary* male, *Zanahary* female, etc. Come for we wish to offer you a sacrifice. Descend by the golden cord and sit upon the bed of silver." The reason of the sacrifice is then explained and the gods invited to eat. After a short pause the ancestors are called and allowed about twenty minutes to eat, after which the gods and ancestors are sent back together. The priest who was my informant for this gens had also made inquiries as to the nature of the gods, but could learn nothing.

782 In all the gentes the less important sacrifices are made by the
596 head of the family in the sacred northeast corner of the house. Most
769 of the gentes use a small hanging altar which is almost identical with the frames used for smoking fish (Fig. 3, c). This is covered with a mat and leaves, but usually only one pile of food is made. The head of the house invokes *Zanahary* and the ancestors simultaneously, repeating no individual names, and the whole procedure is rather informal. The frequency of small family sacrifices varies with the customs of the group and the piety of the individual. Many families make an offering at every meal, placing a few grains of rice on the altar or simply throwing a little of the food toward the east.

778 No rituals or eyewitness accounts of sacrifices among the Tanala
782 Ikongo were obtained. Apparently there are no village sacred places.

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Their memorial stones are erected anywhere and are not used for sacrifices to the ancestors as a whole. Many of their sacrifices are made at pointed wooden posts, about 5 feet high and 3 inches in diameter. Numbers of these posts are to be seen in their villages. In some cases each family has one or more erected to the east of the dwelling. Apparently both the *tsemoka* and *sorona* rites are employed, but I was unable to learn whether temporary altars were built, how the offerings were arranged, etc. The sacrifices are performed by hereditary priests under the direction of *ombiasy*, as among the Menabe. 778 782

SACRIFICES TO INDIVIDUAL SPIRITS

Sacrifices to individual spirits seem to be fairly common among the Menabe, although they are of less importance than those made to the ancestors as a whole. Apparently the Ikongo have similar ideas and practices, but no exact information could be obtained. The Menabe honor both ancestral and non-ancestral spirits. 782 769

Sacrifices to individual ancestors may be made because the ghost has demanded them, to placate a malicious or offended ghost, or in fulfilment of a vow. In general, the appearance of an ancestor in a dream or vision is interpreted as a demand for a sacrifice. If the apparition has not made its wishes known, the person who has seen it will consult an *ombiasy* as to the sort of sacrifice required, the proper place, etc. *Ombiasy* are believed to be in close touch with the ancestral spirits, who visit them from time to time and, through them, demand sacrifices from specified descendants. After such a visit, the *ombiasy* notifies the victim, who is bound to comply with the demand, under penalty of sickness or other misfortune. Persons bilked in this way often grumble and may even ask the ghost for a postponement, but they do not seem to doubt the genuineness of the communication. The belief offers a good opportunity for blackmail and one informant remarked cynically that it seemed to be only the ancestors of the rich who demanded sacrifices through *ombiasy*. The *ombiasy* may also decide, by divination, that an illness, or persistent ill fortune, is due to the malevolent activity of a special ghost and advise that a sacrifice be made to placate it. 782 769 787 [191]

Vows to individual ancestors are commonest in time of sudden danger. They arise from a feeling that a close relative, as a father or grandfather, will be more attentive and helpful than the ancestors as a whole. The greatest vow is that to erect a memorial stone, because of the expense involved. Informants knew only one instance of such a promise. Commonly an ox is vowed. 782 769

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777 789 future can nearly always be modified by the proper magic. This magic takes the form of a charm which is worn, soaked in water which is then drunk or bathed in, etc. Even medicines given for the cure of illness always follow the charm pattern.

The native attitude toward charms is of considerable interest in view of the theories of primitive magic now extant. Their manufacture is a thoroughly mechanical process. They can be made by anyone who knows the proper formulae and adheres to them. Many persons who make no pretensions to being *ombiasy* are familiar with one or more charms which they regularly manufacture and sell. The manufacture of most charms is not accompanied by invocations and there is no belief that the charm is inhabited by a ghost or spirit, or even that it serves as a link between its owner and any Being. The charm owes its efficacy to its various ingredients and to the exact proportions and manner in which they are compounded. The magical potency of the finished product is, however, greater than the sum of the potencies of its ingredients, in fact the ingredients individually have little or no potency. The charm retains its potency indefinitely, its strength increasing rather than decreasing with age. Some charms are so strong that they become animate and can move and speak, but even then they do not require sacrifices or special service.

[178] The foregoing facts strongly suggest the presence of a belief in *mana*, i.e., impersonal magical power, which is concentrated and made available by the charm, but I am convinced that no such concept is consciously present. There is no native word for such power and I found great difficulty in explaining the idea to even the most intelligent of my informants. The Tanala are thoroughly convinced that the charms possess supernatural power which is exerted in favor of their owners, but no ideas as to the source or nature of this power, or as to the exact way in which it is applied, have been formulated. The natives are unconscious of any need for formulation. In this they are quite comparable to persons in our own culture who believe in the efficacy of lucky coins, etc., without being able to explain why they are efficacious.

The Tanala have charms for every phase of their existence and a complete list would be a catalogue of all their activities and vicissitudes. There are charms to aid the individual, the family and the village. Individual charms are the most numerous. They include charms to bring general good fortune, to avert or cure illness, to avert specific injuries, as from gunshot wounds, lightning or crocodiles, to frustrate enemies and render their charms innocuous, to